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MRS. PIOZZI AND ISAAC WATTS

PHILOSOPHICAL
ESSAYS
ON
Various SUBJECTS,
VIZ.

Space, Subſtance, Body, Spirit, the Operations of the Soul in Union with the Body, Innate Ideas, perpetual Conſciouſneſs, Place and Motion of Spirits, the departing Soul, the Reſurrection of the Body, the Production and Operations of Plants and Animals;

With ſome REMARKS on Mr. *Locke*'s Eſſay on the Human Underſtanding.

To which is ſubjoined

A brief Scheme of ONTOLOGY,
OR

The Science of BEING in general with its Affections.

By *I. W.*

LONDON:
Printed for RICHARD FORD at the *Angel*, and RICHARD HETT at the *Bible* and *Crown* in the *Poultry*. MDCCXXXIII.

MRS. PIOZZI AND ISAAC WATTS

BEING ANNOTATIONS IN THE AUTOGRAPH OF MRS. PIOZZI ON A COPY OF THE FIRST EDITION OF THE *Philosophical Essays* OF WATTS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

by

JAMES P. R. LYELL,
B.LITT. (OXON.)

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PREFACE

THE chance acquisition in an old bookshop of a copy of the first edition of *The Philosophical Essays* of Isaac Watts, formerly in the possession of and annotated copiously by Mrs. Piozzi, is the excuse for the following pages, if any is needed in these days, when the cult of Dr. Johnson and his circle has attained such an assured position in connection with English literature of the eighteenth century.

The fact that apparently these annotations have been hitherto unrecorded, and contain references to Dr. Johnson and other distinguished people, besides affording some new light on the versatile genius of Mrs. Piozzi, is the additional apology offered for removing the notes, upon which this essay is based, from the obscurity of a bibliographer's notebook.

My thanks are due to Mr. L. F. Powell, M.A., of the Taylor Library, for his kindness in reading over these pages and making some suggestions based upon his special knowledge of the subject.

J. P. R. L.

New College,
Oxford.
June 1934.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

INTRODUCTION

ONE is accustomed to recall Isaac Watts as a hymnologist, rather than as a philosopher or a metaphysician. His hymns, such as "How bright these glorious spirits shine," "Jesus shall reign where'er the Sun," "O God, our help in ages past," and many others to be found in any recognised collection, are more familiar to most of us than his Scheme of Ontology, his Dissertations on Space, or his remarks on Locke's *Human Understanding*, all of which are included in his *Philosophical Essays*, the volume of which attracted Mrs. Piozzi.

Watts was born in Southampton in 1674, and was the son of a schoolmaster in that town, a Nonconformist, and a man who had suffered imprisonment for his opinions in the reign of Charles II. Isaac, the eldest of his nine children, began his education at home. It is recorded that he commenced to learn Latin at the age of four! Be this as it may, he laid the foundations of a sound knowledge of Latin, Greek and Hebrew under the direction of the Rev. John Pinhorne, Master of the Free School at Southampton, and Rector of one of the churches in that city.

At the age of sixteen he was sent to an academy kept by the Rev. Thomas Rowe in Stoke Newington, where it is said that he increased his general knowledge with marked assiduity. One of his biographers, Dr. Thomas Gibbons,* refers to a large volume in the handwriting

*Gibbons—*Memoirs of Rev. Isaac Watts, D.D.*, London, 1780.

of Watts containing dissertations in Latin upon various and important subjects, which Dr. Johnson has described as showing "a degree of knowledge, both philosophical and theological, such as very few attain by a much larger course of study."* In estimating the value of Johnson's comments on the life of Watts, especially the early part of it, it must not be forgotten that when he contemplated the inclusion of Watts among his *Lives of the Poets* he wrote on July 7th, 1777, to Dilly, the bookseller, that while the name of Dr. Watts "has long been held by me in veneration, I would not willingly be reduced to tell of him only that he was born and died. Yet of his life I know very little, and, therefore, must pass him (over) in a manner very unworthy of his character, unless some of his friends will favour me with the necessary information."†

In the following year Johnson returns to the matter, and at an interview with Dilly he said to him: "I shall do what I can for Dr. Watts, but my materials are very scanty." Johnson paid Watts a notable compliment when he did deal with him in the *Lives of the Poets,* where he says (vol. viii. p. 383), "Dr. Watts was one of the first authors that taught the Dissenters to court attention by the graces of language. Whatever they had among them before, whether of learning or acuteness, was commonly obscured and blunted by coarseness and inelegance of style. He showed them that zeal and purity might be expressed and enforced by polished-diction."

---

*Johnson—*Lives of the Poets,* vol. viii.

†G. Birkbeck Hill—*Boswell's Life of Johnson,* Oxford, 1887, vol. iii. p. 126.

These references to Watts are the only mention of him by Boswell in his monumental biography. It seems, therefore, that while Johnson was well acquainted with the literary works of Watts his personal knowledge of the man was negligible during the eleven years they both lived in London. Watts left Mr. Rowe's Academy in 1694, and, obtaining a post as tutor in the family of Sir John Hartop, resided with them for several years. In 1702 he was appointed an assistant to Dr. Isaac Chauncy, minister of a Nonconformist congregation in Mark Lane, in the City of London. He succeeded that gentleman in the pastorate at the end of three years, but a severe illness brought the engagement to an end, and it was at this crisis in his career that, at the age of 38, he found an asylum for the rest of his life in the house of Sir Thomas and Lady Abney, of Abney Park, Stoke Newington,* a couple possessing considerable wealth. For a period of 36 years Watts was entertained and treated in their home with the utmost friendship and liberality, which was continued unabated by Lady Abney after the death of her husband. It was here, under such happy and pleasant surroundings, that he was able to write all the works which have immortalised his name, varying his work on these literary productions with occasional appearances from time to time in some pulpit. It seems to have been an ideal arrangement, and Johnson, commenting upon it, tells us that the life of Watts with the Abneys was " a state in which the notions of patronage and dependence were overpowered by the perception of reciprocal benefits."

Watts died in 1748, and, fifteen years before his death,

*The Abney Park Cemetery now occupies the site of the house and grounds.

he had published the first edition of his *Philosophical Essays* with which we are now concerned. When the book appeared in 1733 he had already published, eight years before, his *Logic, or the Right Use of Reason in the Enquiry after Truth,* a book singularly free from dogmatism and written in an easy and readable style. No one can seriously pretend that any of his philosophical works have survived the test of time, or were ever used as text books of any importance, but to his credit it may be said that he seldom, if ever, made the mistake of confusing obscurity of diction with profundity of thought.

His *Psalms and Hymns* and the *Divine and Moral Songs for Children* were not only among the "best sellers" of his day, but have survived in countless editions throughout the English-speaking world. On the other hand his *Philosophical Essays* enjoyed a certain amount of success, as there were at least six editions of them published between 1733 and 1823.*

The first edition of 1733 appears to be a scarce book and no copies of it are to be found in the libraries of the British Museum, Bodleian, Cambridge University, National Library of Scotland, or in that of Dr. Williams.†

---

*1st Edition, London, 1733, 8vo.
2nd Edition, London, 1734, 8vo.
3rd Edition, London, 1742, 8vo.
4th Edition, London, N.D., 8vo.
5th Edition, London, 1793, 8vo.
6th Edition, Edinburgh, 1823, 12mo.

†The British Museum has the third edition, a copy with MS. notes by V. Perronet and another, the Bodleian has the second and fourth editions, the Cambridge University Library and the National Library of Scotland have no editions at all, while in the Library of Dr. Williams there are two copies of the second edition.

It was printed for Richard Ford, who carried on business at The Angel, in the Poultry, and Richard Hett, of the Bible and Crown, in the same street. The title page shows that only the initials of the author, "I. W.," appear upon it, but the second edition of the following year (1734), while it has exactly the same imprint, is described as "The Second Edition Corrected" and to be by "I. Watts, D.D." The book is octavo in size and the collation is as follows:—A–Cc8,Dd2 (Title, I f.; iii. to xii. numbered pp.; 2 unnumbered ff.; 1–403 numbered pp.; 1 unnumbered p.) Following the title there is a Preface of 5 ff. by Watts, unsigned, but bearing the date Jan. 17th, 1732-3. The "Table of the Essays" follows on two leaves, then the text continues up to the recto of X4, the verso of which is blank, the next leaf containing the following separate title:—

A
BRIEF SCHEME
OF
ONTOLOGY:
OR THE
Science of BEING in general;
wherein all the
Various AFFECTIONS, or Properties, Adjuncts
and Relations of it are contracted into
a comprehensive View, and ranged
in a natural and easy Method.
By I.W.

LONDON:
Printed for RICHARD FORD at the *Angel*, and
RICHARD HETT at the *Bible* and *Crown* in the *Poultry*.
MDCCXXXIII.

This is followed by two leaves of Preface, the text commencing on the verso of X8 and ending on the recto of Dd2, the verso of which is occupied with a table of "The Contents of this *Scheme of Ontology*."*

This is certainly not a volume which one would have expected to receive the attention and somewhat detailed criticism of Mrs. Piozzi, a lady whose other contributions to the literature of her time were concerned mainly with her reflections on travel, her association and correspondence with Dr. Johnson, and some large manuscript volumes of autobiographical jottings which were described (by Mr. Thrale) as *Thraliana*.† However, when her annotations to these *Philosophical Essays* are read one cannot but pay a tribute of praise to the literary versatility of one who received very scant justice at the hands of Boswell, who sneered at her literary capacity and alleged inaccuracies. During recent years something has been done to do justice to the victim of Boswell's distorted observations, and it is hoped that the present small addition to our knowledge of the lady's literary tastes and acute judgment may assist in such revaluation of her exact place in the Johnson circle. Her association with this circle may now be briefly recalled. Mrs. Hester Lynch Piozzi was born in 1741, and was the only child of John Salusbury, of Bachycraig, Flintshire. She received a liberal education and acquired a knowledge

*Ontology may be described as that department of metaphysics which relates to the being or essence of things, or to being in the abstract.—*O.E.D.*

†Extracts have been published by A. Hayward, K.C., in both editions of his *Autobiography, Letters and Literary Remains of Mrs. Piozzi*, London, 1861, 2 vols., and also by Charles Hughes in his *Mrs. Piozzi's Thraliana*, London, 1913.
The original manuscript volumes of *Thraliana* are now in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, the Trustees of which Library contemplate their publication.

of French, Italian and Spanish, besides a working acquaintance with Latin. It was an education distinctly superior to that given usually to a girl in her position of life at that period.

At the age of 21 her father died, and the following year she married Henry Thrale, who, at the age of 30, had succeeded his father in the control of a large and highly successful brewery at Southwark. Thrale had been sent to Eton and Oxford and on leaving the University had finished his education with the usual continental tour. It has always been said that this was a marriage of convenience, but we have his wife's authority for saying that he was a man "exceedingly comfortable to live with; while the easiness of his temper and slowness to take offence add greatly to his value as a domestic man."

There were twelve children of the marriage, eight of whom died in infancy or early childhood, only four daughters surviving to adolescence, the death of the eldest boy, at the age of nine, in 1776 being a great blow to the father from which he never recovered. In 1765, two years after their marriage, Thrale was elected Member of Parliament for Southwark, and it was during the same year, on the introduction of his friend, Arthur Murphy, an actor, author and barrister-at-law, that Samuel Johnson was introduced to Streatham Park, the home of Mr. and Mrs. Thrale, a country residence in those days of attraction and importance. From 1776 until Thrale's death, in 1781, Johnson spent a large amount of his time in this house, usually the middle days of every week, returning to London on Saturday evenings.

Mrs. Piozzi, and he, when he came of age, became naturalised in England and adopted the surname of Salusbury. He was knighted during his tenure of office as High Sheriff of Flintshire, and, her own daughters being well provided for, she made him her heir. The marriage with Piozzi lasted a quarter of a century, his death taking place in 1809.

The remaining twelve years of her life saw very little diminution in her various activities, and she spent most of her time at Bath and in the immediate neighbourhood. It was here that she was brought into contact with a young actor, William Augustus Conway, and some letters written by her to this man at the end of 1819 and beginning of 1820 were published 20 years after her death under the description of *Love Letters of Mrs. Piozzi, written when she was eighty to William Augustus Conway.**

Nobody with any intimate knowledge of the lady's exuberant pen would for a moment be misled into thinking that these were the love letters of an amorous old woman, who, if not 80, was, in fact, 78 years of age at the time. Modern investigation has once and for ever deprived this incident of the unpleasant, if not salacious, atmosphere with which this anonymous and early Victorian pamphleteer sought to surround it.†

In March, 1821, this wonderful old lady met with an accident which severely injured one of her legs, an episode which she dismissed to a friend with the reflection that she had always been a blue, and now she was a black and blue lady!

*London, 1843, 8vo.

†*See* Percival Merritt—*The True Story of the so-called Love Letters of Mrs. Piozzi,* Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1927, also R. W. Chapman—*A Literary Fraud, The London Mercury,* June, 1930, and L. F. Powell—*Review of English Studies,* vol. v. (1929), pp. 362–3.

A few weeks later, after an illness of little more than a week, she died on May 2nd in the presence of her two daughters, whose arrival on the scene led her to remark, "Now I shall die in state!"—a typical example of the ruling passion being strong in death.

Occasion has already been taken to mention some of Mrs. Piozzi's more important contributions to the literature of her time. The amount of unpublished manuscript material which she left must have been very considerable, and the recent acquisition of some large portion of it by the authorities of the John Rylands Library, at Manchester, by purchase from a descendant of Sir John Salusbury Piozzi Salusbury, will secure for all time the preservation of the documents and their adequate selection and preparation for publication. Already a commencement has been made by Dr. Tyson and Dr. Guppy, respectively the Keeper of Western Manuscripts and the Librarian at the John Rylands Library, in their recent book,* admirably edited, and with an introduction which leaves every student of the subject under great obligation. In addition to this book, Dr. Tyson, in an interesting article in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,* vol. xv. (1931) pp. 467–488, has indicated the richness of the Piozzi material now available at Manchester. Among a mass of interesting matter there are innumerable letters from and to the lady, also one notices items such as a folio notebook with ten chapters in MS. on the following subjects :—
(i) Of the Holy Scriptures ; (ii) Of the Lord's Prayer ;

*M. Tyson and Henry Guppy—*The French Journals of Mrs. Thrale and Doctor Johnson,* edited from the original MSS. in the John Rylands Library and in the British Museum, with an Introduction and Notes, Manchester University Press, 1932.

(iii) Of the Creeds ; (iv) Of the Decalogues ; (v) Of the Sacraments ; (vi) Of the Christian Virtues ; (vii) Of the Cardinal Virtues ; (viii) Of the Mysteries ; (ix) Of Ceremonies ; (x) Conclusion. This has a preface, dated from Milan in August, 1786, addressed by Mrs. Piozzi to her daughter Susanna. A translation from the Spanish of the life of Cervantes by Mayans y Siscar, besides fragments, being translations of various passages from *Don Quixote*. Also there are Notes on Hebrew grammar with a translation of the first chapter of Genesis, which she has parsed.

It will be seen that in these annotations of the *Philosophical Essays* of Watts, Mrs. Piozzi breaks fresh ground and evinces an acute power of criticism in regard to purely abstract matters, a power beyond any of her hitherto published works,* and certainly, as far as I know, not to be found in any other woman writer of her time. Her observations may not be very profound, but she is never at a loss when grappling with the philosophy, theological subtleties and metaphysical excursions of Watts, and brings to their consideration abundant common sense, a good deal of sound reasoning and a facile gift of appropriate and interesting illustration.

With these preliminary, if inadequate observations, the reader may be able to appreciate better the personalities of both the author and his commentator.

*We have the authority of Mangin (*Piozziana*, London, 1833) for the statement that Mrs. Piozzi for sixty years "had constantly and ardently studied the Scriptures and the works of commentators in their original languages." She has also left her own annotated copy of Dodd's edition of the Bible (1770), which is now in the John Rylands Library, while in a letter she wrote to Sir James Fellowes in April, 1818, she speaks of buying and interleaving a copy of Thomas Gisborne's *Testimony of Theology to Christianity*, which had then just been published.

THE BOOK AND ITS CRITIC.*

ON the inside top cover of this copy of the *Philosophical Essays*† Mrs. Piozzi has written her autograph signature with the date "1800"

and on the following flyleaf appear the following verses in her handwriting:-

Here, with short Plummets, Heavn's deep Well we sound,
That vast Abyss where human Wit lies drown'd;
In our small Skiff we must not launch too far,
We here but Coasters, not Discoverers are:
Faith's necessary Rules are plain and few,
We many, and those needless Truths pursue;
Faith from our Hearts into our heads we drive,
And make Religion all Contemplative.
J.D. §

---

*The annotations of Mrs. Piozzi are given in italic letter.

†This copy is bound in old panelled calf, which has been rebacked at a later date and bears a leather label entitled, "WATTS ESSAYS."

§Mrs. Piozzi makes further reference to these verses later, (see p. 24) which are by John Dryden, whose initials she has added in a minute hand at the end of them, and are taken from his *Tyrranick Love*, iv. i. (1670); they afford one of the earliest figurative use of the word "Coaster" in the English language.

In the "Preface" which follows the title, Watts mentions that among the various philosophical enquiries which had occupied his younger studies, and which he had committed to writing, these few (the "Essays"), have escaped the injuries of time and other accidents, and by the persuasion of a learned friend are now offered to the public view. He goes on to say that his duties having allowed some hours of leisure and of amusement he has now added to these papers.

He proceeds to deal with the subjects with which he proposes to treat, and, in ten pages of vivid exposition, he indicates the lines upon which his conclusions have been based, and remarks, "Shall I be told that other writers have said the very same things which I have done, and in a much better manner? I confess I know it not; for tho' I now and then look into modern Books of Philosophy, yet there are many which I have never seen, having not sufficient time to peruse them; and I am persuaded some of these Essays were framed long before those very Works, whence some Persons may imagine I have borrowed several of my Reasonings. If there be any Hint of Thought amongst them all that may assist the Reader in his Conceptions of God or of himself, let him correct or retrench, let him refine, let him alter or improve it as he please, and make it his own, that I may thank him for it as a new Acquisition: And let him renounce whatsoever he finds disagreeable to Truth, Reason or Religion; always remembring that the surest way to find out Truth is not by a disputing Spirit, and seeking out all possible Objections, but by an inward Love of Truth, by impartial Meditation and Search after clear Ideas."

In a final sentence in which he brings the " Preface " to a conclusion, and is speaking of immortality, he writes :—" Farewell Books and Disputes, and dark Notions, and lame Hypotheses ! We enter into the State of unbodied Minds, we are surrounded with the Light of Paradise, we behold a present God, and in that exuberant and undeceiving Light, we shall see ourselves and our fellow Spirits ; there we shall commence our happy Immortality in those pure and exquisite Delights of unerring Contemplation and undecaying Love."

The marginal notes to this Preface by Mrs. Piozzi consist of the following :—

This is a singularly beautiful Piece of Writing—I mean the Preface for the work itself—Like every Metaphysical Enquiry it leaves Men where it found them, only impress'd with honest Veneration for so much Candour joined to so much Learning.

* * * * *

Watts, having commented on the strangeness of the various views of philosophers concerning Space, the lady observes :—

It is a stranger Thing still, that Men are never so acute or violent or eager, as they are found to be in these Disputes concerning matters of which every Man, however Wise, must remain ignorant—We cannot catch the Truth, she slips away—Like following Life in Creatures we dissect.
We lose it at the Moment we detect,

* * * * *

Then follow two final comments upon the style employed in this Preface :—

Oh how admirable—Oh how very beautiful is all this quite to the end.

This is an uncommon Masterpiece of Sentiment and of Expression.

* * * * *

At the end of the "Table of the Essays," and immediately before the first leaf of the text, there are these general observations :—

If one is *to read Metaphysical Disquisitions in hope of that Truth which perpetually escapes the search of Man; it is best to read Watts or Beattie; for all other Metaphysicians seek rather to confound their opponents, than instruct their Readers: Watts and Beattie to great Strength of Mind add a religious Moderation not to be found in other Philosophers.*

* * * * *

The reference made in the last note to James Beattie is of interest, because Watts and Beattie had this in common that they were both much better poets than philosophers. Beattie, who will go down to posterity on the reputation of his poem, "The Minstrel," was the son of a small farmer in Laurencekirk, Kincardineshire, where he was born, in 1735. A distinguished product of the educational system in Scotland at the period, on leaving school he went to Aberdeen University and graduated M.A. in 1753, at the age of eighteen. Appointed in this year parish schoolmaster at Fordoun, a neighbouring village, he later held a post at the Aberdeen Grammar School. In 1760 he was appointed Professor of Philosophy in Marischal College. A few years later he published his "Essay on Truth," which met with a success which surprises us to-day. Although it passed through five editions in four years, it was characterised more by its orthodoxy than by any profound acquaintance with metaphysics. In spite of this it made a remarkable

appeal and the author received the personal congratulations of George III. and, of more practical importance, the grant of a pension of £200 per annum! Beattie visited London and was received in the Johnson circle, Boswell telling us that on one occasion the reading of his "Hermit" "brought tears to the Doctor's eyes." To return to Watts, his first Essay deals with an enquiry concerning Space, and in the first section the subject is explained in general. In the opening sentence he stresses the obstruse and mysterious nature of space, which leads the lady to observe :—

No Man but a Metaphysician finds it mysterious and no Metaphysician has yet fathom'd the Mystery. To mortal Man Space is incomprehensible, witness Aristotle, Newton, Malebranche, Boyle and Locke.

It is pretty and curious to reflect that the most familiar Things to us in this Life are the most difficult to account for. But till touched *by Study no Man finds how* hard *they are.* Coral *is the first Substance we are made acquainted with* & Linnæus himself knows not what coral is, or among what Productions of Nature we are to class it.*

* * * * *

A discussion as to the Leibnitz theory of an Idea of Space leads to the rejoinder :—

Yes, they explain their Idea *of space; but they do* not *explain what space* is.

* * * * *

In a chapter reviewing the argument as far as he has gone, Watts concludes by asking whether this empty

*Presumably this is a reference to the coral mouthpiece of the silver rattle or other toy with which infants used to be supplied in order to assist in the cutting of their teeth, a practice which lasted at least until the end of the nineteenth century.

thing called *Space* be not God. A marginal note runs :—

*Here look back to the verses in the Blank Page beginning this Book.**

This particular section ends with an invocation to the Deity in the form of a prayer :—" Blessed God, forgive all the Vanity and Conceit of our reasoning Powers, all our foolish and unworthy Apprehensions concerning thy Majesty. Scatter these Shadows of thick Darkness, lead us out of this Labyrinth of gross Ignorance and Mistake, and help us to make our Way thro' this Abyss of Night, thro' this endless circle of Perplexity. Shew us thyself, O God our Maker, and teach us what thou art, that we may adore Thee better, nor suffer us to wander in this thick Mist, wherein we can scarce distinguish thee from that which has no being."

This invites the comment :—

This is like Ajax's Prayer in the Iliad. Scarce inferior to Homer in poetical Expression. O admirable Isaac Watts !

The analogy between *Space* and *Shade* discussed in cap. x. leads to the reflection :—

Much of our Difficulty (as Beattie says) proceeds from Language : We use the word Nothing in a positive sense one Minute, in another Minute we treat it as mere Privation— yet to the Grammarian *as to every other SCHOLAR The* Thing *Space is incomprehensible, be the Words what they may be in which we discourse upon it.*

* * * * *

In the attempt to reconcile the objection that space cannot be mere nothing because two bodies may have

*See p. 21.

twenty miles of space between them, and yet if all this space be nothing, then there is nothing between these two bodies and they must touch, and still are twenty miles distant, which is impossible, Watts asks, why it is impossible for two bodies to be created, or placed at twenty miles distance, and yet nothing but emptiness—*i.e.,* no real Being between them—and urges that it is only the learned who seek to define space as a real something, and that common folks are content to treat it as emptiness, a begging of the question which elicits from his critic :—

& I am partly of this Mind. 'Tis easier to prove what Space is not *than what it* is—*God only knows—He made it incomprehensible : or what is the same Thing as to effect—He made* us *incapable to comprehend it.*

* * * * *

The last chapter on space has the heading " Space nothing real, but a meer abstract Idea." The lady underlines the last three words and adds in the margin :—

This seems nearest to Truth—yet even this has *been and* may *be disputed.*

* * * * *

A statement in our author's third Essay on " The original of our Perceptions and Ideas " that " since Body and Spirit are of such widely different Natures, that it is impossible they should touch one another, a Body cannot give notice to a Soul to raise any Idea or Perception in it by a Jog or Shake of any kind," brings the following in the margin :—

I believe Body cannot raise *Perceptions in the Soul, though I am not* sure *of it—We all know it can blunt or dull, or*

niſh. As the Brain grows harder, and more capable of retaining Traces, ſo the Memory is confirmed, whence Experience ariſes, Judgment is ſtrengthen'd and taught to act, and the Efforts of a thinking and a reaſoning Nature appear.

From this I infer and agree herein with Mr. *Locke*, (tho' not upon the ſame Grounds and Reaſons) that the Soul of Infants hath very few, or ſcarce any Ideas refin'd or intellectual, or which come by *Reflexion*; not for that it does not think, but becauſe its Thoughts are ſtill imployed and impoſed upon by the Brain in *Senſations*, as the Brain is imployed continually by crouding Impreſſions from the Objects of Senſe and Feeling from within or without.

Thus I have endeavoured to anſwer the chief Objections of this great Writer, againſt the conſtant Conſciouſneſs of the Soul. And indeed ſo far as my Ideas reach, or my Reaſoning Powers will help me, *conſtant* or *perpetual Cogitation* ſeems to belong to the very Nature, Eſſence and Subſtance of a Spirit, and that when it ceaſes to think it ceaſes to be. And herein it bears a very near Reſemblance to God, and is the faireſt Image of its Maker, whoſe very Being admits of no Sleep nor Quieſcence, but is all conſcious Activity.

This is finely urged, & ſmartly oppoſed too.

COROL.

I think this was likewiſe Doctor Johnſon's Opinion — I think ſo.

obtund her Perceptions completely. Had Dr. Watts been struck with Apoplexy or received a smart blow on the head—could he have written this Book? Oh No, No.

To the suggestion that " one particular Soul receives Sensations immediately from one particular animal Body, and from that alone," he receives the reply :—

That one *Soul has or may have effect on* many Bodies *is proved by the emotions occasioned by Eloquence. How else did Peter the Hermit provoke an audience of* 347,000 *People to cry out God wills it so, God wills it; when he proposed the first Crusade, or how do People fall into Hysteric Fits at hearing Mrs. Siddons recite the woes of Belvidera? or laugh themselves into Convulsions at Henderson's reading the story of Johnny Gilpin?**

In his fifth Essay, Watts proceeds to discuss the views of Locke on whether the Soul never sleeps, and on dreams. Locke's contention was that the Soul sleeps as well as the Body, and has no thought when it has no dream, to which Watts makes a reply which elicits :—

If the Body can dream, the Body can also think, which Watts does not mean to say. Truth is the Body does neither think nor Dream—yet heavy suppers by disordering the Body will influence our Dreams, which all know by experience.

Watts, in summing up his answer to Locke's objections against the constant consciousness of the Soul, argues that constant or perpetual cogitation seems to belong to the very nature, essence and substance of a Spirit, and that when it ceases to think it ceases to be. And

*John Henderson (1747-1785), the actor, known as " The Bath Roscius," was a well-known player of Shakespearean parts, and regarded as second only to Garrick. He published in conjunction with Thomas Sheridan a *Practical Method of Reading and Writing English Poetry*, 1796.

herein it bears a very near resemblance to God, and is the fairest image of its Maker, whose very Being admits of no sleep nor quiescence, but is all conscious Activity.

In a marginal note, followed by one at the foot of the page, Mrs. Piozzi comments :—

This is finely urged, & sweetly expressed too.

I think *this was likewise Doctor Johnson's Opinion—I* think *so.**

Two corollaries are then stated by the Author: (a) That Soul is in its own nature immortal; for nothing can destroy it but the Power which has given it being, and (b) when the human body dies the Soul continues to think and act in a separate state and will live more entirely in the reflection of its own operations.

To these propositions the first receives the comment :—

This is a steady Truth; well proved and highly comfortable.

Regarding the occupation of the Soul after death she observes :—

I rather hope it will be better employed in learning the Wonders and Mercies of Omnipotence.

Happiest result of human Wit,
When Alma *can herself forget.*

Mr. Watts may like the Revision *of* his *Life reasonably enough, but many will be sav'd I suppose—The* Reviewal *of whose Thoughts or Conduct would afford them small satisfaction. Poor Dears!*

* * * * *

A chapter on the "power of Spirits to move Bodies" has evidently interested our commentator. For example,

*See facsimile reproduction of this page, p. 28.

when it is stated that it is reasonable to believe that Spirits departed from the Body will have some communications with the material World again, from which they have been cut off by the death of the Body, she enquires :—

Will not the material World, *our earth at least, be destroyed before the Resurrection of the Body? or is it only to be purified and made* once more *the Habitation of just Men made perfect, under the Governance of Jesus Christ? perhaps so.*

Dealing with the power of the Spirit to move matter, Watts asserts that it cannot make the pulse of the heart beat quicker or slower, the rejoinder to which is :—

I rather think it can. *Anger quickens the Pulse, and indignation* voluntarily *encouraged in what we deem a good Cause, and Joy (if it ever* does *come to Mortal Man) kills him for that very reason.*

Discussing the same point regarding the power of the Spirit to move matter we have a typical Johnsonian illustration :—

Dr. Johnson told me that he once gave a sick man a strong vomit—but in ten minutes after came the Bailiffs—his patient ran away—and the sickness vanis'd—so did the emetic, the Man heard no more of either. I relate this as a Proof that Spirit can *move Matter, or at least hinder it from moving. Smellie tells a story of a Fire, and the fright that Fire occasioned, restraining the Pangs of Parturition in a Woman, tho' her Labour was far advanced before her House was discover'd to be burning. Her agony of Mind &* Spirit *restrained the Agony of Body.**

*Dr. Johnson was much interested in medicine and was often in the habit of experimenting upon his friends. Boswell speaks of his being "a great dabbler in physic." Birkbeck Hill—*Boswell's Life of Johnson,* vol. i. p. 159; vol. iii. p. 152; and vol. v. p. 74.

In discussing the " Place and Motion of Spirits," Watts points out that we borrow expressions concerning our Spirits which originally and properly belong to our Bodies. He says, " We suppose Spirits to have a subtil sort of Extension and Figure, and to require a Place to exist in as much as Bodies." The marginal note runs :—

We have partly a Right to suppose so, a negative *Right, because our blessed Savr. when His Disciples took him for a* Spirit *appealed to their* Touch *alone.* Handle *me (says He) & see, for a Spirit hath not Flesh & Bones as ye see* me *have. He did not scorn or blame them for fancying him a* Spirit, *till they had proof of his* Corporeity.

Concluding this chapter, the Author states that he has no desire to be dogmatic, and that he only retains his present opinions " for want of better till I retire from the World," and that then he hopes " to see as I am seen, and know as I am known, to have clearer and juster Ideas of what I am and what God is." . . . . The word " clearer " has been underlined in ink and the note is :—

Clearer Yes, *but* quite *clear,* No.

I am terribly afraid that tho' this may be possibly *the Case with Dear Dr. Watts, as it appears St. Paul expected it to be with* him, *It never can be the Case with their Readers, or with those Millions of Mortals who cannot read at all—for whom the world seems, however, to have been Created, and for whom (not for the Philosophers) Christ died and rose again. Think you they will begin—or rather* burst *out from their Case of Clay seeing things as God Sees them, knowing things as God knows 'em ! Impossible—The Ocean of Knowledge would drown*

our weak understandings seldom exercised in Metaphysical Researches—There must be Time to learn the wonderful Works of our Creator & I fancy Eternity's Enjoyment will consist in the gradual Information. *Every moment will pass in hearing or seeing or reflecting on some Excellence till then unobserved—while the Memory shall be so strengthened that no Excellence shall be forgotten.*

* * * * *

Watts then presents for consideration some similes to illustrate his views upon the Soul. One of these is stated by him as follows :—" Suppose a Torch inclosed in a Cell of Earth, in the midst of ten thousand thousand Torches that shine at large in a spacious Amphitheatre. While 'tis enclosed, its Beams strike only on the Walls of its own Cell, and it has no Communion with those without. But let this Cell fall down at once, and the Torch that Moment has full Communion with all those ten thousands : it shines as freely as they do, and receives and gives Assistance to all of them, and joins to add glory to that illustrious Place."

Mrs. Piozzi specially marks the passage and adds :—

This same corroborated by the Resurrection (*if such we may call it*) *of inferior Creatures—for the silkworms casting their Slough come out Butterflies ; the Tadpole leaving his Black Cage starts out a Frog : and the Grain of Barly in the earth leaves its chaffy case behind, when the Acrospire or Germ shooting forth a Green Blade shews itself once more to the Sun.—The Body of a Man* (*by this Rule*) *may be called his* exuviæ.

* * * * *

In a passage dealing with the Spirit when the Body of Flesh expires, Watts writes :—" I am conscious of my Ignorance . . . . what are the Circumstances, what

are the Laws, what is the Situation, and what is the Language of the World of Spirits, must and will be a Matter of Darkness and Mystery to us, while we dwell in Flesh and Blood: We must each of us wait our appointed Hour."

The footnote runs :—

That is the truest and wisest Passage possible & who knows but Guardian Spirits are appointed to lead us by degrees to knowledge of our Maker, and of His still unlimited Perfection— teaching what we wish *to learn, & making every Man a Heaven in himself.*

At the beginning of a chapter on " The Resurrection of the same Body " the lady writes in the margin :— . . . *That we shall rise again is* sure, how *we shall rise again is most uncertain & Imaginary—I will write out my own vain & empty & idle Conjectures at the end of the Chapter.**

However, there were statements of Watts long before the end of the chapter, which resulted in marginal notes. For example, Watts ventured to assert that " 'Tis hardly possible that all the very same Bodies should rise; that is, all the same Atoms or Particles that were buried." This leads to the caustic comment :—

This is nonsense—one thing is as possible *to God as another— He who created can surely resuscitate.*

* * * * *

Proceeding to illustrate his argument, Watts says, " Besides, if all the same Atoms that ever belonged to

*Mrs. Hall, a sister of John Wesley, was dining with Johnson on Easter Sunday, 1781, and invited him to discuss the subject of the resurrection of the body. She argued that we should be raised with the same bodies, which was strongly contested by the Doctor. Birkbeck Hill—*Boswell's Life of Johnson,* vol. iv. pp. 92-4.

Methuselah must be raised, what a Bulky Man would that be? And further, what need is there that the last dying withering Particles should be raised to make Methuselah again, when any other Atoms that ever belonged to him, and in which he practised Virtue or Vice, are as much the same Methuselah? and yet all of these cannot be crowded into his Body without making a Giant of him?"

This results in an amusing story :—

Dr. Moore tells a humerous Story of a Scotsman whom one of the new Philosophers tryd to make a complete Atheist of. Nay, Nay says Sawney, I am* sure *the God Almighty made Man, because d'ye see I studied Anatomy and every time I come home from Dissecting a Human Body, I perceive clearly that if* I *had made a Man, I must have made him a Gyant to contain all these necessary nerves & fibres & Capillary Vessells—by my Conscience I should have had him as big as the Mountain Ben Lomond at least.*

* * * * *

After another note elaborating her views about Methuselah, the lady sums up at the end of the chapter as promised :—

At the great Day of general Remuneration when we must answer for Works done in the Body we must be confronted with those whom we injur'd. But we must recognise their Persons or such Confrontation cannot take place. Prince Eugene lived till near 80 *years old. We will say he suffer'd*

*John Moore, M.D. (1729-1802) was a well-known physician and author, who met Johnson in 1784 and records their conversation in his preface to an edition of Smollett's works which he published in 1797. Moore was the author of a novel entitled *Zeluco* and various other works which enjoyed some success at the time.

some Injury when an Infant, by the cruelty or carelessness of his nurse. To her *then he must appear in* that *state, for she died and never saw him grown a General: yet must She answer for the Sin by which she might have robbed the World of all his Virtues. To a Soldier who sought to assassinate him (if any such there was) when he was a Youth of* 25 *years old, he must appear a Youth—The Soldier could neither recognise the Veteran, or helpless Babe in the Prince whose Life he attempted. When* 71 *years old, We'll say a cunning youthful Hussey sought to entangle him in a disgraceful Marriage to gain a large Share of his well earned Fortune. To* her *he must appear an aged Nobleman infirm and worne out—tempting such Frauds by Loss of sense to understand—of Spirit to repell them.* She *could not be confronted with the Hero before whom her Heart would have trembled, or with the Infant which would have excited her Tenderness.*

* * * * *

In a chapter concerning "Plants and Animals," the Author states that by two common Parents, Earth and Water, the whole animal and vegetable world was created! "A God needs no more." This produces the reply:—

A God needs nothing—*ex nihilo nihil fit is no rule to* Him. *That God created the Heavens & the Earth however out of* nothing *we learn* merely *by Revelation; The Heathens thought it sufficient that Jupiter could work with bad materials and work well too, but* Moses *says, "In the beginning God created the Heavens & the Earth" & that is very different Philosophy.*

* * * * *

In picturing the beauty of the vegetable part of Creation, Watts writes that "Colouring in its original Glory

and Perfection triumphs here ; Red, Yellow, Green, Blue, Purple, with vastly more Diversities than the Rainbow ever knew, or the Prism can represent, are distributed among the flowers and blossoms." He gets the following rejoinder :—

Not so my dear Doctor ; In the Prism & Rainbow every *colour is contained, and you know that better than poor H. L. P. only the Subject runs away with you.*

* * * * *

A long dissertation, purporting to be addressed by a Philosopher to some ladies on the subject of their dress, in which their dependence upon the animal and vegetable kingdom for most of their attire is emphasised and illustrated, leads to these remarks in the margin :—

Mrs. Barbauld has taken her Children's Books from this, & not done it half as well ; how should she, yet her Books are the modish study. Mr. Henry too had a stroke at all this, and very pretty and very true it is—but tis to* me *very tedious somehow. Bruyere has something like it too.*

* * * * *

In discussing *Instinct,* Watts enquires why we do not ascribe the same Sagacity and Artifice to Vines and Ivy that we do to young Sparrows or Chickens, which provokes the note :—

The new *Philosophers* do *so ; but in my mind it is very silly.*

The Author goes on to argue that if Brutes are allowed to have a thinking and reasoning Power, which in its own Nature must carry Immortality with it, there can

*Mrs. Anna Letitia Barbauld, a contemporary of Mrs. Piozzi, established a school for boys in Suffolk. She published poems and prose essays. Her *Hymns in Prose for Children,* written while engaged in the school, may have been in Mrs. Piozzi's mind.

Miſſion from the Wiſdom and Will of God, and feels the Reſtraint of his Laws, that it may not be an eternal Wanderer.

But I call my Thoughts to retire from theſe extravagant Rovings, beyond the Limits of Creation. What do theſe Amuſements teach us, but the inconceivable Grandeur, Extent and Magnificence of the Works and the Power of God, the aſtoniſhing Contrivances of his Wiſdom, and the Poverty, the Weakneſs and Narrowneſs of our own Underſtandings, all which are Leſſons well becoming a Creature?

charming!

'Tis all we can, and all we ought to learn here below: when Death of Sense has set our Intellect free, we shall I suppose be better Metaphysicians ... but till then, let us fear God & mind our own Business.

Once pardoned our past Offences ... with a Soul serene & happy, we shall learn the wonderful Works of God; search Delight his Mercy over all his Creatures ... & finding somewhat new every Day to delight & astonish our still growing Powers, nothing shall be for us but our own Folly & Vice: The Recollection of which would spoyl even the Felicity of Paradise.

At least to H.L.P.

1993

be no distinction between the mite in the cheese and the elephant, to which the observation is made :—

Certainly. Bulk has nothing to do with Power of Cogitation—Their smallness may prevent our observation of their Wit—but makes not their Wit the less.

Speaking of Spirits being of a lower order in Beasts, Watts argues that they are so under the impression of Matter, that they are incapable of good or evil, or of rewards or punishments. The marginal note runs :—

No not Slaves to Matter *sure ; Their Souls are of an inferior Order, but Souls they are, I do believe, and* immaterial *as our own . . . & it is with the greatest Difficulty I can persuade myself that my dear favourite Dog or Horse is wholly dead & dead for ever !*

* * * * *

In concluding a chapter entitled " Of Sun-Beams and Star-Beams," the Author, who has been discussing whether the Ether beyond our Atmosphere is a mere Vacuity and as to whether the world grows bigger or less, remarks, " But I call my thoughts to retire from these extravagant Rovings beyond the Limits of Creation. What do these Amusements teach us, but the inconceivable Grandeur, Extent and Magnificence of the Works and the Power of God, the astonishing Contrivances of His Wisdom, and the Poverty, the Weakness and Narrowness of our own Understandings, all of which are Lessons well becoming a Creature ? "

The lady observes :—

'Tis all we can, *and all we* ought *to learn here below* : *When Death of Sense has set our intellect free, we shall I suppose*

be better Metaphysicians—but till then, let us fear God & mind our own business. Once pardon'd our past Offences—with a Soul serene and happy, we shall learn *the Wonderful Works of God; See with Delight his mercy over all his Creatures & finding somewhat new every day to delight and astonish our still growing Power, nothing shall be forgotten but our own Folly and Vice: The Recollection of which would spoyl even the Felicity of Paradise. At least to*

H. L. P.

1799.*

(*See* reproduction of this page, p. 38)

* * * * *

Mr. Locke's Essay on *Human Understanding* is the subject of the last Essay of Watts, before the commencement of *A Brief Scheme of Ontology*. Discussing the question as to whether liberty can be ascribed to the Will, our author evidently thinks that Locke has put forward fallacious arguments on the subject, and says "that 'tis possible for a vast and sagacious Genius to be not always the fairest Disputant; the raising a Cloud of Dust will sometimes evade the true Question and appear to gain the Victory when the Disputant only hides himself."

This elicits the following:—

Right; Watts knows Logic to Perfection.

Watts proceeds to criticise the views of Locke when he makes the identity of vegetable and animal beings to

*The autograph signature on the inside top cover of the book is followed by the date "1800" (*see* reproduction, p. 21), which argues that this entry, "H.L.P. 1799" was made by Mrs. Piozzi prior to the book being rebacked and provided with fresh end papers.

consist in a participation of the same continued life by constantly fleeting particles of matter in succession vitally united to the same organised body.

Our Author deals with this in detail and asks, " When the Graft of a Pearmain has grown three months or seven years upon the stock of a crab, is it the same Tree ? Has it the same Life, or has it not ? "

The lady replies :—

A Crategus Aria Theophrasti *will grow in England no way —but inoculated into a Thorn : in three or four years like the Cuckoo it kills its Parent, and flourishes up a fine King of the Poplars. I planted several so myself at Streatham Park ;* but altho' in* some *of them—not all—the old Hawthorn Root is discernible, for* 5 *or* 6 *inches at bottom—They are surely not Hawthorns in the least, but large straight Timber Trees & singularly beautiful.*

* * * * *

Watts goes on to ask " if Goliath at a month old should have all at once received that vast Addition to his Bulk, which increased by degrees in forty or fifty years, 'tis a doubt whether he would have been the same Man or no ? " To this there is the following marginal note :—

I think he would *; because if by a Fall at nurse he gain'd a* Scar, *that Mark, when he was grown a Gyant, would prove his Identity.*

* * * * *

To the statement of Watts that " there are some original Particles of an animal Body, which continue

*Streatham Park was the residence of Mrs. Piozzi when married to Mr. Thrale, and the home for many years of Dr. Johnson.

from its birth to its death, through all the gradual and successive changes of the Particles, which may be sufficient to pronounce it the same Body; and these may probably continue the same even till the great Resurrection," Mrs. Piozzi says:—

Mr. Hogarth told me that the Eye never grew larger from Birth to Death, and in effect we see children with* fine eyes *as we call them—a Thousand Times for once that we admire Men and Women's eyes; only (as he said) because they looked larger & finer among the Infants Features, than among the Features of Grown Persons.*

* * * * *

Our critic sums up the Watts v. Locke disputation in the following words:—

Sweet Modest Watts! he is writer by no means Meaner *than Locke. He is greater, because his Mind took in* more *sciences; he had a larger capacity.*

* * * * *

The *Brief Scheme of Ontology* is the portion of the whole volume which has received least annotation. To the question which Watts asks as to whether a Bat is a Bird or a Beast, and whether every Monster is to be called Man which is born of a Woman? she laconically replies:—

(i) *A beast* (ii) *Yes.*

When Watts says it is contrary to nature for the stock of an apple tree to bring forth pears by virtue of a twig of a pear tree grafted into it, she writes in the margin:—

If it brought Pears of its own accord we might say so—but 'tis not *contrary to Nature that Pears should grow on an Apple Tree, if properly inoculated. The instance is ill chosen.*

*William Hogarth, the painter, an acquaintance of Johnson and a visitor to Streatham Park (see p. 16).

When Watts says that we call ideas which are inconsistent impossible, and illustrates by an iron animal, or silent thunder, he is met with :—

The iron animal is an ill chosen Instance : I saw a Spider made of steel run about like a live Creature ½ a year ago in London, 1801.

Again, on the Author advising caution when terming anything absolutely or naturally possible or impossible, she observes :—

Very true ; for what seems Impossible to me to-day, may be exhibited as existing next year for ought I know.

A reference to the necessity of an Antichrist because God had foretold it, brings forth a footnote :—

So it was, & the present Time is his Reign—I think—upon Earth. 1801.

To the question whether God's Duration or Eternity be not co-existent with our Time, and the Duration of the World, and whether such a part of Eternity be not commensurate therewith, the marginal note is brief and to the point :—

Mercy on me. What a Fancy.

Feeling perhaps that she has done scant justice to the problem, she adds the following footnote :—

We all know that the uncaused Cause, the self existing Power from *Eternity &* to *Eternity, can alone be God. Nothing* can *be God, which owns ought before Him.*

* * * * *

When Watts says that " Number is made up of many Units put together, and therefore some Ontologists

may chuse to treat of it in the Chapter of Unity; but it plainly denotes a Relation between two or more Beings or Ideas," she writes :—

Number is finite; *for every number increase it as you will, is at an Immeasurable Distance from Eternity: but* Numeration *is* infinite, *because (for ought I see) Eternity might be employed in adding Unit to Unit.*

* * * * *

We can best conclude these annotations by the following note, which follows the Preface to the *Brief Scheme of Ontology,* a note truly characteristic and Johnsonian in style :—

*I can bear to read no Authour but himself (i.e. Watts) upon the subject—No, not Beattie—The Irony and Sarcasm of a Scotsman is always offensive, and it puts the Argument out of my head beside. Metaphysic is at best a melancholy, and disappointing Study. Your heart kindles with hope of finding Truth when you begin their books—but the further you go, the more perplexing the Path— " And find no end in wandering Mazes lost."**

*Adapted from Milton—*Paradise Lost,* book 2, line 558.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF MRS. PIOZZI'S PUBLISHED WORKS.

Anecdotes of the Late Samuel Johnson, LL.D., During the Last Twenty Years of His Life. London: for T. Cadell in the Strand. MDCCLXXXVI. (1786) 8vo. pp. viii.; pp. 306; one leaf of Postscript.

——— The Second Edition, London: Printed for T. Cadell in the Strand. MDCCLXXXVI. (1786) 8vo. pp. viii.; pp. 306; one leaf of Postscript; one slip of Errata.

——— The Third Edition, 1786, 8vo.

——— The Fourth Edition, 1786, 8vo.

(N.B.—These four editions, printed for Cadell in the year 1786, led to Mrs. Piozzi writing from Venice on May 20th, 1786 :— " Cadell says he never yet published a work the sale of which was so rapid and that rapidity of so long continuity. I suppose the fifth edition will meet me on my return." I cannot trace a copy of a fifth edition during 1786, but there is no doubt of the success of the book, and it is stated that when the King sent for a copy on the evening of publication there was none to be had.)

——— Another edition. London: Longmans, 1856, 8vo. (vol. 16 of the Travellers' Library).

——— Another edition. With an Introduction by Henry Morley. A volume of Cassell's National Library: London, 1887. 16mo. pp. 192.

——— Birkbeck Hill included the *Anecdotes* in his *Johnsonian Miscellanies,* Oxford, 1897, and annotated them with his customary fulness.

——— Another edition, edited by Sydney C. Roberts: Cambridge, 1925.

——— Another edition of the same: Cambridge, 1932.

Letters to and from the late Samuel Johnson, LL.D., to which are added some Poems never before Printed. Published from the original MSS. in her possession by Hester Lynch Piozzi. London: Printed for A. Strahan; and T. Cadell, in the Strand. MDCCLXXXVIII. (1788) 8vo. 2 vols. (i.) pp. xv.; pp. 397; (ii.) pp. xi.; pp. 424; Slip of Errata.

——— Another edition, 8vo. Dublin, 1788.

Observations and Reflections made in the course of a Journey through France, Italy and Germany. London: Printed for A. Strahan and T. Cadell in the Strand. MDCCLXXXIX. (1789) 8vo. 2 vols. (i.) pp. vii.; pp. 437; (ii.) Title, one leaf; pp. 389; Books printed for T. Cadell, pp. 6.

——— Another edition, 8vo. Dublin, 1789.

British Synonmy; or an attempt at regulating the choice of words in Familiar Conversation. Inscribed, with sentiments of Gratitude and Respect, to such of her Foreign Friends as have made English Literature their peculiar study. London: Printed for G. G. and J. Robinson, Paternoster Row. MDCCXCIV. (1794). 8vo. 2 vols. (i.) pp. viii.; pp. 423; (ii.) Title, one leaf; pp. 416.

Three Warnings to John Bull before he dies. By an old Acquaintance of the Public. 1798. A political pamphlet published anonymously of which the MS. is in the John Rylands Library.

Retrospection: or a Review of the most striking and important Events, Characters, Situations, and their Consequences, which the last eighteen hundred years have presented to the View of Mankind. London: Printed for John Stockdale, Piccadilly. 1801. 4to, 2 vols. with portrait; (i.) pp. xvi.; pp. 461; (ii.) pp. viii.; pp. 540; Advertisement of Stockdale's Maps, pp. 4.

Mrs. Piozzi made some contributions to *The Florence Miscellany*, Florence, 1785, 8vo. These included a Preface, favourably reviewed by Horace Walpole, and several poems and the Conclusion. This publication also contained poems by several of her friends.

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